

/89 cont. /

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crueler successors, the enfranchised half-breeds of Bolivia. One simple example can illustrate better than any humanitarian tirade the treatment to which, even up to our day, these Indians are submitted: the two Bolivian soldiers who accompanied me and who had interrupted their hunt for Indians who had revolted, threatened my poor informants with public whipping and burning of their huts for the smallest trifle. Those are the most current, and the gentlest, measures employed by Bolivian officers with regard to the natives.

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Linguistics. The Uro hardly speak their ancient language any more, and even among themselves Aymara is readily used. However, the Uro dialect of Ancoaqui seems to have been less contaminated by Spanish and Aymara than that of the Uro of Chipaya. At any rate, at Ancoaqui I had the good fortune to find several Uro roots which have already disappeared at Chipaya. This fact might appear peculiar when one reflects that the Uro of Ancoaqui have always had much closer contact with the Aymara and with the Spanish than their brothers at Carangas. Their material culture has been more deeply modified than that of the Chipaya, whose physiognomy is clearly archaic. How then can one explain why their language should have remained purer than the dialect of the Chipaya? I am inclined to believe that this anomaly is due to the fact that the Uro of Ancoaqui have been located closer to the great Uro centers of Lake Titicaca, and that since they were formerly more numerous than the Chipaya, they have succeeded better in preserving their own language. A linguistic detail which happens to confirm the thesis supported by Dr. Rivet on the identity of the Pukina and of the Uro remains to be mentioned. The lexicographic concordances pointed out by Dr. Rivet made this assimilation almost certain. The Uro gave me decisive proof. They call their language bukina, pukina in order to distinguish it from Aymara. The fact had already been indicated to me at La Paz; it has since then been confirmed by all my informants.

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/89 cont. /

French-Uro Vocabulary

104 The phonetic system used in this article is the same as the one that /90/ Dr. Paul Rivet uses in his article on the Uro language (1); č corresponds to the Spanish "ch"; ʃ to the French

1. See note 1, p. 1.

"ch"; ʃ is an affricate which would be transcribed as "dj" in French; x is the Spanish "j," and l the "ll" or liquid l of the same language. The combined sign ɸ is a half-occlusive, the cutting-off of which produces a sound close to the Spanish "j." A mark under the vowels indicates that they are very open. u is a semi-vowel which is close to w.

193 The grammar of the Uro of Ancoasqui does not seem to differ from that of the dialect of the Čipaya. One finds the same verbal endings, the same affixes, etc.

192 The words preceded by one asterisk are those which are derived from Aymara, those marked with two asterisks derive from Spanish, and with three, from Kičua /Quechua/. The word list, pp. 90-110, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text.

Carangas-
Chipaya

/116 cont./

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that they inspired in this functionary.
The hero of this adventure even had
the ridiculous idea of offering to
accompany me to Chipaya.

163

The Čipaya are not very prolific. Households with more than two children are rare. I know of only one with five children, two with four, and five with three. Infant mortality is very high, as in all Indian tribes. Couples without children are fairly numerous, and the Čipaya often remedy this situation, which they consider a misfortune, by the adoption of an orphan. For a pastoral people like the Čipaya, children represent a capital asset and contribute to relieving their parents of a part of the work that has to be done by watching over the flocks. Hence their despair if their union remains sterile.

162

[439]

One must include in the number of temporary inhabitants of Chipaya village the people of Salinas who come to buy cheese. These individuals, for the most part repugnant half-breeds or assimilated Indians, sometimes remain there for a rather long period. Some Aymara from Sabaya or Icara seem to be permanently established in the village. These strangers almost always have shops and sell to the Čipaya coca, alcohol, and some small objects of prime necessity.

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[49]

The language. The Čipaya are all bilingual. Among themselves they still employ a Uro /Uru/ dialect, and with strangers, Aymara. This latter language is tending more and more to supplant Uro and has already eliminated a considerable number of the most common words. This infiltration of Aymara is already so advanced that there are no children over ten who do not speak it, and all the women, although the majority have /117/ never left their village, express themselves fluently in this language. The Čipaya have also undergone a Quichua /Quechua/ influence, as the Quichua elements in their vocabulary show. Spanish has also exercised great power over their primitive tongue. Its effect has

/117 cont. /

- 199 had to manifest itself through the intermediary of Aymara. The Uro dialect of the Chipaya is thus an ailing language in the process of disappearing in the future that I believe to have saved from oblivion, if not in its entirety, at least to a great extent.

- 133 The territory. The physical environment is that of the puna
137 (Pl. VI. A. /see p. 30 /) artificially altered by man. If one arrives in Chipaya coming from the north, one traverses for almost a day an uninterrupted succession of sand dunes, to which some tufts of long, hard gramineous plants (ichu, Stipa ichu (Jarava) or the black, twisted stalks of tolas (Baccharis Lepidophyllum and other Compositae) cling. Once the dune area has been crossed the terrain becomes completely flat, and the rarer tolares alternate with the mossy swellings of yareta (Azorella). In places the vegetation disappears completely, but the most sterile parts are adorned with some Alpine flowers, which make imperceptible spots of color against the greyness of the ground. The Indians are
- [301] not disdainful of them. I remember having seen them gather
[824] bunches of them during a festival to stick in their hair or to decorate
[134] the images of saints. The aridity of this sandy soil manifests itself with an intensity which becomes more and more acute the closer one comes to Chipaya territory. The boundary is marked by the complete disappearance of the plants mentioned above and by the appearance of stunted grass, thinly sown, which hardly
- [311] reaches a few centimeters in height. These wretched pastures are
312 the product of human industry. The Chipaya obtain them thanks to a system of irrigation that would do honor to their spirit of enterprise were it not the necessary condition of their existence in this environment. Using canals, some of which are almost two meters deep and three meters across, they have diverted a part of the waters of the Lauca River and conducted it by secondary branches across the entire extent of their territory. During the rainy season and the period of great floods, they provoke inundations by raising a few dams here and there. The water fertilizes the sands of the

Carangas-

Chipaya

Modern Quechua SE24

u /331 cont. /

*778 Further on (p. 115) the description of a sacrifice made by a
 [825] Chipaya Indian in honor of a titi-mal'ku, i.e. the wildcat protector
 of his house will be given. In a hut which served as a storage place
 in Chipaya, I saw a stuffed hawk, mamani, which was likewise
 pointed out to me as the mal'ku of the family which owned the hut.

u
 [171] Certain characters in Aymara folklore also bear the epithet
mal'ku. Thus the Wasa mal'ku, mysterious protector of wild ani-
 *778 mals. These examples allow us at present to form a fairly clear
 [197] idea of the evolution undergone by the word mal'ku and of its present
 meaning. In the beginning this term denoted pre-eminence,
 whether it was purely secular and due to social rank or derived from
 the sacred nature of the object or person thus qualified. The substi-
 tution of approximate Spanish equivalents for the ancient native
 names designating the different degrees of authority has caused the
 use of the word mal'ku in the sense of chief to disappear. It is only
 preserved in the language to denote excellence, that which is worthy
 of respect, and consequently the supernatural and sacred. This
 evolution has been carried through to its most extreme limit, and
 today mal'ku can be translated in certain instances by "demon."
 [782] In some Chipaya prayers the magician calls indiscriminately upon
 "all the mal'ku"; he invites the "mal'ku" to come eat the pieces
 of meat which are tossed to them in the air.

*778 /332/ The bibliographical research which I have undertaken
 [171] has brought me only rare examples of the word mal'ku being attri-
 [127] buted to supernatural beings or being invested with the meaning
 "sacred." The present natives of the Huarochiri region (1) worship

1. Tello (Julio C.) and Mirando
 (Prospero). "Wailallao. Ceremonias
 Gentílicas realizadas en la Región
 Cisandina del Perú Central
 /Wailallao. Pagan Ceremonies
 carried out in the Cisandean Region
 of Central Peru." Inca, Lima,
 Vol. I, No. 2, 1923, pp. 475-549,
 510, 532, 545.

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The Uro Language

(Chipaya Dialect) (2)

2. Gathered by the author during
January-February 1931.

Introduction

197
121 My trip to Chipaya had as its basic goal saving the Uro language. Nothing was closer to my heart during my entire stay than collecting as complete documentation as possible on this dying language. My zeal was sustained by the conviction that I was certainly the last ethnographer who would have the chance to gather the last sounds of an undoubtedly very old speech. I must admit that the results did not come up to my efforts and that I am far from having obtained the documents which I hoped to collect. Nevertheless, if my dictionary and texts give only a partial ideal of Uro-Chipaya, this is because in 1931 it was already too late to collect the elements of this language which would have permitted an exhaustive study of it. If the fatidic twelfth hour of which the German ethnographers love to speak has not already sounded for the Uro language, I can assure you that its days are numbered. Its disappearance is a matter of only a few years. Nothing is more disappointing than being present at the death of a language. Every instant one is confronted by gaps, by
[28] holes filled by foreign elements which give the language the appearance of a patched cloth. One would like to reconstruct the missing pieces, one hunts for words and expressions, but this pursuit is for the most part in vain: the word has disappeared from the consciousness of all the individuals composing the group. However painful an investigation conducted under these /338/ conditions may be, it does not lessen the possibility of making some interesting observations on the way in which one language is substituted for another. Uro, as much in Chipaya as
[26]

Carangas -
Chipaya

/338 cont. /

Uro, as much in Chipaya as

192 in Ancoaqui, has been absorbed by Aymara. I have indicated in my
197 dictionary the words or roots of Aymara origin with one asterisk,
those of Spanish provenance with two, and Kičua /Quechua/ roots
with three. If one counts up all the words of foreign origin, one will
see that they constitute an impressive percentage in comparison with
the purely Uro words. The latter, moreover, such as they may be,
[193] always have an Aymara doublet to which an Uro ending is simply
added. According to the individual, the number of Aymara roots
which recur in their speech varies: the young people who have
traveled are naturally more inclined than the old to stuff Uro phrases
with Aymara words and terms. They know the corresponding Uro
word but forget to use it; little by little they will leave them aside
and the latter will disappear. The infiltration of Aymara is already
191 so acknowledged that even children eight to ten years old speak it
197 fluently. Čipaya who, for one reason or another, have been absent
from their villages for several years, are subsequently reluctant to
use their old language; even the women, who hardly ever leave their
village, all express themselves in Aymara. This influence of Ay-
mara on Uro dates from a long time ago. Naturally, the battle be-
tween the two languages will end with the elimination of that of the
197 weaker and more backward people. In the Čipaya dialect words as
192 common as "brother" and "sister" have already disappeared before
their Aymara equivalents. This example alone says much on the
state of decomposition of Uro. This disintegration has not only
[193] affected the vocabulary but also the grammar: the negations, ad-
verbs, adverbial locutions are purely Aymara.

One will be struck on casting an eye on this vocabulary by the
large number of Spanish words adopted by the Uro-Čipaya. I myself
was surprised to ascertain this penetration of Spanish in the language
of a people who live so isolated and find themselves in direct contact
with no city or even village where Spanish is spoken. I would have
attributed this phenomenon to the sojourns and trips which the Čipaya
made a few years ago to Chile. If one examines the Spanish elements
that Uro contains, however, one cannot consider them as recent

Carangas-
Chipaya

/338 cont. /

197 borrowings. When one sees conjunctions like "when" rendered by
 192 the hybrid word culora (at what time), one is forced to admit that
 the influence of Spanish on Uro is old and has been exerted with
 particular strength. It is possible that these Indians formerly lived
 near Spanish establishments on the banks of the Desaguadero. One
 /339/ must also not forget that a number of Spanish elements have
 come to them by way of the Aymara. It is also through the Aymara
 that so many Kičua terms have crept into Uro, yet certain ones seem
 to have been transmitted to them through contact with groups speak-
 ing Kičua (ex: wata: "year"; wiri: "behind," etc. etc.)

124 The texts noted down very clearly illustrate this complete
 191 disintegration of Uro: the purely Uro words are only wreckage which
 197 float in the context. These accounts are not even the first flow from
 my informant, who dictated Aymara to me slightly colored with
 Uro, and it was only by insisting that I obtained a purer version.
 This method had the disadvantage of denaturing the account: my
 [126] speaker, forced to express himself in a language which had become
 somewhat unfamiliar to him, having a tendency to simplify or shorten
 his expressions.

126 The present state of Uro explains in part the insufficient
 number of texts collected. There is another reason for this gap in
 my documentation: the mental life of the Čipaya is so poor, their
 activities so few, that there is no material sufficiently rich among
 them to be the subject of somewhat extensive accounts. They have
 no myths at all, and one can hardly give this name to the few stories
 of Aymara origin that I was able, with great effort and expense, to
 gather during my stay among them. When I asked them to give me
 an account of their activities in Uro, they discharged this duty with
 a few phrases which effectively summarized their ~~monotonous~~
 115 activities. My investigation was made still more difficult by the
 apathy and stupidity of my informants, who were incapable of giving
 me a somewhat coherent narrative. There they were, stammering,
 obstinately stumbling, and passively refusing to understand what I
 wanted of them. This brutishness of the Čipaya was obvious to me

/148 cont./

115 the former had had much more frequent contacts with the
191 neighboring populations.

114 Here I should note that Métraux's assertion in his 1937
191 work on the almost general usage of Aymara by the Uru of Iru-
Itu, who "practically do not speak their old language any more,"
was clearly exaggerated. In 1938, alongside individuals who
spoke Aymara fluently, numerous men knew only a few words
[197] of it, and most of the women did not know it at all. The only
ordinary language in the village was Uru, but it is natural that
in the course of a short stay with Aymara informants, a traveler
would mainly have had contacts with natives who knew this
language, which gives a false impression of the group as a
whole.

114 Moreover, it is inexact to state that the Uru call their
197 language Bukina or Pukina. This information was also given
to me in 1938, during my first trip, by a Uru who spoke Aymara
and even a few words of Spanish, and I published it in a small
work on the Uru ("Les Indiens Uru du Desaguadero /The Uru
Indians of the Desaguadero/. " Boletim do Museu Nacional,
Rio de Janeiro, 1939, XIV-XVII, 303-319). During my second
stay I had an explanation /149/ of this declaration made by
several Uru. All asserted to me that they did not know who
the Pukina were and did not know of any people with this name,
but a "mister" had said to them that this was the name of their
language. It is not difficult to recognize in this connection
Posnansky's intervention, of which it would be easy to cite
other examples of the same kind.

115 My informants were the following:

Manuel Inta, apparently a pure-blooded Uru, a great-
grandfather, who was almost 90 years old at the time of our
investigation judging from the events at which he had been
[197] present in his youth. A robust man, he was still capable of
making the trip on foot from La Paz to Tiahuanaco, 90 kilo-
meters, in two days in order to save the price of his passage
by train or bus, which had nevertheless been paid for him in

/188 cont./

*539 would be ukú-nua, "woman," "spouse." Note the placing
193 of the particle áske, "far," between the root and the ending of the verb.

*539 It was interesting to publish these texts, which make
121 possible some useful comparisons with Orés Pukina text, which will be the subject of our next note, and with Métraux's three Chipaya texts.

*539 Considerable phonetic differences exist between Uru and
191 Chipaya. For example, the ending ɬai, so characteristic of
194 Uru but which already is tending to become ɬa or to be dropped, becomes ja in Chipaya. Chipaya pronunciation is much harder, with a greater frequency of gutturals, no doubt as a result of Aymara influence. The Chipaya vocabulary contains a much higher proportion of Aymara, Kešwa, and even Spanish words, and this does not originate solely from the nature of the texts gathered by Métraux: the trip of a Chipaya to Chile, and life in the barracks; one finds the same character in his second text, describing life in the fields. Outside this variable proportion of foreign words, differences in vocabulary are slight.

[193] The syntax of the two groups is identical, but nevertheless much less varied in Chipaya.

All this underlines the close linguistic affinities of these
[184] two groups. It is the same language, practically extinct, spoken by two small, completely separated populations; it is better preserved among the Uru and more altered among the Chipaya, and already displays considerable variations from one generation to another within the same group.

*539 The differences are much more marked in the very content,
184 rather than form, of the texts. The Uru mainly describe their work as fishermen and, to some extent, their customs. Métraux was able only with difficulty to obtain from the Chipaya a few phrases on their work /189/ in the fields and on animal husbandry, and his texts are mainly accounts of

[16th - 17th Centuries]

/35 cont. /

175 (Juan Alfonso Carrizo, Cancionero popular de Jujuy /Book of Popular Songs of Jujuy/, p. XV, Tucuman, 1935.)

/36/ Calancha (Father Antonio de la)

In his Cronica moralizada /Moral Chronicle/ of the order of St. Augustine, Father de la Calancha speaks at length and in several passages of the Uru.

[162] In the Province of Paria which the illustrious benefactor
[81] Lorenzo de Aldana gave us...; the largest number of Indians who inhabit it are Uro Indians, the most ignorant people of Peru, obscene and dark-skinned /renegrida/ they eat raw meat, lived on Lakes, and only like marshy country. The chief [103] pueblos in this Province are Paria or Challacollo. /Translated from the Spanish. /

(Volume I, p. 353.)

[162] This pueblo (of Challacollo) had 2,400 tax-paying Indians
[81] who were being catechized by our Order.... These are crude Uro Indians, without breeding, dark-skinned /renegrida/. without cleanliness, enemies of social intercourse, and not at all [226] prone to the cult of our faith; for subsistence and gain they fish in the lake of Paria... those who live on land /do so/ in [342] sepultures underground owing to the cold, and when they live on the lake, their houses are on platforms and cattails... the [137] Uro Indians are born, grow up, and live on this lake over the water on the cattails, which here are called totorales, and which are very thick, and with this kind of light rushes, here [291] they live with no clothes or coverings (and this in a very cold [197] land) than some mats of these cattails.... Their language is the most obscure, disjointed, and crude of all in Peru, entirely guttural, and it cannot be written without great confusion.

[103] There is another pueblo that is called Capinota, and it is a [197] Priory with a subsidiary church of Uro Indians called Charamoco where the teaching religious of Itapaya teaches since he is only one league away.... There is another pueblo four leagues

[16th-17th Centuries]

/37 cont./

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Nearly all of this first book of Chapter XVII is devoted to the great rebellion of these Indians, led by mestizos or Spanish bandits, like their last chief, a certain... "Don Pedro Laine, a fierce and bold man, the son of the Auditor /Contador/ Ansa, who is regarded by them as a great sorcerer.../cited in Spanish/."

(Crónica moralizada de la Orden de San Agustín en el Perú /Moral Chronicle of the Order of Saint Augustine in Peru/. Lima, 1653. Vol. II, Chap. XVII. First Book.)

195
Diligencias e informaciones hechas para sacar de la isla del Choro y del Paraje de Villivilli en el Lago Poopo a los indios sus habitantes, considerados como infieles y pernicioso /Measures and inquiries carried out to remove from the island of Choro and the region of Villivilli in Lake Poopo their Indian inhabitants, regarded as being infidels and destructive./

[131] Report made by General Don Francisco García Picado, Corregidor and Lord Chief Justice of Oruro, at the request of the Duke de la Palata, Viceroy of Peru, on the existence of savage Indians on Paria Lake.

[197] Among the witnesses whose testimony was gathered by the commissioners /Commissaires/ we find... "the Teaching

[635] Father Fray Nicolas de Losyza, a religious of the Order of Our Father Saint Augustine...of Chacacollo, the principal pueblo of the district of the corregidor of the province /38/

[16] of Paria, and of its native Indians called Uru, and of some outsiders who live in said pueblo and the neighboring areas under its authority...a person who has known them for 35 years and has more than sufficient experience...teaching them the Christian doctrine in three languages: the general one, Aymara, and their own mother tongue, which they call Uru.../cited in Spanish/."

• [97] (Document partly published in the Revista del Instituto de Sociología Boliviana in Sucre, by Gunnar Mendoza L. under

[16th-17th centuries]

/38 cont. /

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native livestock, and in addition they share in more maize and wheat than those of other parts, because of /39/ having on their left the province of Larecaja, abundant in both....
/Translated from the Spanish. /

(Descripción colonial /Colonial Account/. Biblioteca Argentina, XIII-XIV, Buenos Aires, 1916, I. 227.)

Constituciones sinodales del Obispado del Cuzco, expedidas el 29 de Setiembre de 1591, por el Illmo Sr. D. Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo /Synodical Rules of the Diocese of Cuzco, issued on 29 September 1591 by the Illustrious Don Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo/.

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...Because in many pueblos of this our Diocese as a rule all Indian women, or most of them and some of the Indian men, do not understand the Quechua language, but rather Aymara or Puquina, and for this reason do not know the mysteries of our Faith, and do not confess their whole life, not even at the hour of death, in order to remedy this we order that all parish priests among the Indians, in accordance with the mandate of the third Council, should hear confessions in the language peculiar to their parish, /whether/ Quechua, Aymara, or Puquina, and because this is so different in each pueblo where said language is spoken, within a year of their being appointed to said parishes, they should prepare with the help of Indians who know Spanish /ladinos/ a short Confession and Catechism wherewith to confess and instruct these persons, which they must do under penalty of 20 pesos the first time and twice as much the second, being warned that they will even be deprived of their parishes, if they are negligent in this respect.... /Translated from the Spanish. /

Statement of the Bishop of Cuzco, D. Antonio de la Raya, charging the Jesuits on 12 March 1549 to give examinations to clergymen applying for Indian parishes:

[16th - 17th Centuries]

/39 cont./

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...Because in like manner it is necessary that the said Aymara and Puquina languages should be taught in this city, since they are spoken in many parts of this diocese and there are great deficiencies in the administration of the holy sacraments because the priests do not know them..../Translated from the Spanish./

Constituciones Sinodales del Obispado de Arequipa hechas y ordenadas por el Illmo. y Rvdo. Senor D. Pedro de Villagomez, Obispo de la Santa Iglesia de Arequipa, en el primer Synodo que se celebró en dicho Obispado que fue por el año de 1638 /Synodical Rules of the Diocese of Arequipa, issued and ordained by the Illustrious and Reverend D. Pedro de Villagomez, Bishop of the Holy Church of Arequipa, in the first Synod held in said Diocese, which took place in the year 1638/.

197
/40/ ... The Catechism must be taught in the Puquina language. Heedful that in some parishes of the Diocese the Puquina language is spoken, therefore, in conformance with the disposition of the law and of the Provincial Council, and having made inquiries as to who is most familiar with this language, we entrust the translation and interpretation of the Catechism which the said Council ordered to be published in the said first two languages (Quechua and Aymara), to Dr. D. Alvaro Mogrovexo, curate of the curacy /doctrina/ of the Zarumaco, and to Dr. Miguel de Arana, curate of the Habaya and Locumba curacy, so that they may translate it into the Puquina language..../Translated from the Spanish./
(Book I. f. 17, Chap. V.)

...in the Catechism of the Lima Council no prayers were included for the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, and so that the Indians may learn them, they are ordered to be included here, in the two languages, and to be translated also into Puquina, that is to say, one for the elevation of the Host and one for that of the Chalice..../Translated from the Spanish./

THE URU-CHIPAYA

By WESTON LA BARRE

THE URU

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The Uru (*Uro*, *Huno*, *Ochomazo*, *Ochozuma*, *Uchumi*, *Kjotsuni*, 101 *Bukina*, *Pukina*, *Puquina*, *Urocolla*, *Uroquilla*, *Yuracare* (not to be confused with eastern Bolivian *Yuracare*), *Kiucharatati* or "Big-livered People," and *Chancumankkeri* or "Water-greens Eaters," the last two opprobrious *Aymara* nicknames, inhabit the region of Lake Titicaca and some of the watercourses of the inter-Andean Plateau (map 1, No. 6; map 4). "Uro" or "uru" seems to have been used commonly in the 17th century to mean "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. It is now the most common name of these people. They call their language *Puquina*.

The Uru language has no connection with either *Quechua* or *Aymara*. 197 It is probably the same, however, as the *Puquina* of the 17th century (Oré, 1607), although it is not the same as the *Puquina-Uro* of De la Grasserie (1894). The *Puquina* spoken by the Desaguadero Uru is closely related to the *Chipaya* of Lake Poopó, and Métraux (1936 a) therefore established an *Uro-Chipaya* family. Rivet's classification of Uru as *Arawakan* has not been widely accepted by linguists. We consider *Uro-Chipaya* to be an independent linguistic family.

Uru was called a "lengua general" of Perú by 16th-century writers 199 (the "Relaciones geográficas de Indias" in 1582 calls it "one of the 175 three general languages of the kingdom"), although its known distribution at a later date was confined to a few people scattered on the islands of Lake Titicaca, in the Río Desaguadero swamps, and near Lake Poopó. Vázquez de Espinosa (1942) found *Puquina* spoken in Surre and Uru settlements in the Cochabamba Valley. Uru evidently once had a much wider distribution than in recent times.

The Highland Uru all now speak both *Aymara* and Uru, and a few 191 know a little Spanish.

The Uru of the coast of Tarapacá and Tacna are similar culturally 101 to the *Chango* and are sometimes even called *Chango*. They are said to be descendants of the Uru of Lake Titicaca sent as colonists (mitimaes) in Inca times. But, as all now speak Spanish and no trace 197

[101] of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they
[197] were linguistically related to the Uru of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "Uru" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

[173] Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland Uru tradition, that in prehistoric times their lodges were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

[175] In earliest historic times, the Uru appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (*totoras*) swamps of the
[131] Rto Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th
[361] century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, Uru was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoacqui, Iruita, and Nazacara in the Rto Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were Uru haciendas at Checaraque, Taguanu, Taracatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi.
[175] There were 937 persons (448 males, 488 females), of whom 809 were
[161] Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included Aymara,
[162] it is doubtful if there were more than 200 Uru in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoacqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Rto Desaguadero region had less than 100 Uru in 1931.

[648] Recently, the Ancoacqui Uru have been despoiled of their lands by
[131] the Aymara comunarios of Jexús ce Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

[101] The Coast Uru are little known. Locana Machuca (Latham,
[131] 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others
[162] from the Rto Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

[157] Unlike the friendly Uru of the Coast, the Highland Uru have long
[175] had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century
[101] rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningún hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an Uru Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertoni wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chirapa* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

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601 the Aymara, the Uru distinguish siblings terminologically according to age. Like

585 Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water

591 of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the Uru were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women

600 during recent years has led men to take Aymara wives.

602 If the Uru ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native *hilakata*, or *alcaldé*, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with Aymara neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

791 The Uru worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also
 796 a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic
 797 and have a small mud church in their village. Like the Aymara, they
 798 believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking
 799 omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their
 800 deities are very like those of the Aymara. Bertoni (1879 b), however,
 801 lists several ancient Uru dances which have disappeared since
 802 the 17th century: the *buchhu* or *sisa quirkitha*, and the *chiy-chiy*,
 803 in which bags are held in the hand.

796 The main Uru fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed
 from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian
 feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (*siku*),
 797 sing and dance the *mimule*, and perform the ancient rite of blood-
 798 sacrifice (*wilancha*) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood
 799 near the entrance of each hut. Most of the Uru beliefs and cere-
 800 monies are clearly from the Aymara.

538 Most Uru-Chipeya folklore is similarly of the common Aymara
 191 stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

- 184 The Chipaya of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with
- 197 the Uru of the Rio Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in
- 833 culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Where-
 as the Uru are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the Chipaya are
 chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

231 The Chipaya, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals,
 802 and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at
 public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the Chipaya do

It would still be A.D. 1900 in a remote section of Oruro Department of Bolivia today. Here is the retreat of the Chirya Indians, the living people who can give us an idea of rural life in a distant corner of the great Inca Empire. The few hundred individuals of Santa Ana de Chirya are the remnants of a once numerous people whose territory extended to the northern shores of Lake Titicaca. Their language, Uru-Chirya, was called "one of the three main languages of the kingdom" by the sixteenth-century chroniclers of Peru, which included what is now Bolivia. Over the centuries the more powerful Quechua and Aymara have seized their lands, forcing them back into a region where life is particularly difficult. But they have made remarkable use of their harsh, ungenerous environment. In their isolation, they have retained their pre-Columbian customs more completely than any other Indian group.

And they are isolated. The modern world did not even know of their existence until it was reported by the famous Peruvian War (Up to the end of the six-

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- 101 Professor VILLANO from the University of San
 114 Marcos, Lima, had been working for some time
 on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Iru near
 the junction of the river Desaguadero and Lake
 121 Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were
 124 the last survivors of the original population of the
 South American continent, certain authorities con-
 tended that they originally came up from the Amazon
 as they have a number of linguistic affinities with
 131 certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known
 as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the
 great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.
 134 Once having reached the highlands, what regions
 did they populate? There is a belief that they ex-
 137 tended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far
 as Lake Pizpo and were the founders of Oruro,
 which corresponds to the Uru words 'Uru uru',
 140 meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date
 they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the
 143 Aymara. One of the earlier Spanish chroniclers,
 Don Pedro MARCANO DE PITALORA, in a report
 146 dated 1586 in the Province of Potosí, notes
 the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives
 of the lake, whom they were fishermen. He holds
 149 them in low esteem, remarking that they have no
 152 talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

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THE URU OF THE RIO DESAGUADERO By WESTON LA BARRE

IN THE giant reed, or *Adeswa* swamps on the eastern or Bolivian bank of the middle Desaguadero, between Lakes Titicaca and Poopo, and shortly downstream from where this river forms the common Peruvian-Bolivian frontier, lives the remnant of a tribe which is in many ways an ethnographic puzzle. They are possibly Arawakan in linguistic affiliation, and their nearest language-congeners lie beyond the farther side of the great inter-Andean (Bolivian) *altiplano* from them, and beyond the eastern, continental Andes or Cordillera Real—viz., scattered in the immense steaming jungle-swamps of the Amazon basin, in the Greater and Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, and indeed at one time in a sizeable section in the south of the state of Florida. They form a distinct linguistic enclave in the midst of enormous territories of Quechua- and Aymará-speaking peoples. How the ancestors of this vanishing tribelet ever came to the extreme western border of the lofty, raw, cold, barren, and wind-swept *altiplano* from their tropical jungle is an absorbing anthropological riddle.¹

Location. According to Fula, the Uru language at the end of the Nineteenth Century was still spoken in the following scattered places: *Ahualla mayo*, some 20 km. from Ancoacui and 40 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Ac coaquí*, on the left² bank of the Desaguadero, 25 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Iruña*, some 12 km. from the mouth of the Desaguadero (s. lat. 16°31'40").

¹ The present sketch is believed to be the unique ethnographic account of the Uru in English. Former notices of this interesting and obscure group have been confined to one or two lines which barely identify them. The colonial Spanish literature, unfortunately, is almost wholly silent on the subject of the Uru, but all available references to them have been carefully checked and utilized in the present summary. In Spanish we have Pascansky's brief and somewhat disappointing notes. In French there is the linguistic work of Métraux, who visited the Uru for a week in 1931 with the purpose of compiling a comparative Uru-Chipaya dictionary. Métraux' incidental ethnographic notes on the Uru are excellent, and undoubtedly our best source on the tribe. As the Uru are today almost wholly extinct, though important to our general knowledge of South America ethnography, it is to be deplored that they have been so little known to English-speaking students.

² Métraux, *Contributions au fait des urus* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris 26, p. 75) is in minor error in locating this community on the right bank of the Desaguadero.

132 in summer when the sun is shining, the temperature in this relatively dry region invariably falls quite low in the cold nights, necessitating a sleeping-bag and heavy blankets. Winters are bitterly cold: this period lasts from June to November, the "dry season." Morning mists are common, and electrical storms are frequent in summer, as is hail, but the winter snows are comparatively light.

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[13] *Linguistic Identification.* The Uru have been the source of a long and intricate scholarly debate, which is by no means adequately settled yet. In 1607 the missionary Gerónimo de Ore published in Naples a famous, but rare book, his *Rituale seu Manuale Peruorum*. This contains about thirty pages in the "Puquina" tongue, with translations into Aymará, Quechua, Spanish, and Latin. The only specimen of this language in modern works was the Paternoster from Ore printed by Hervás, until Brinton published extracts from Ore's Puquina rendering, and the numerals from one to ten. On the basis of the Paternoster alone, Hervás believed that the Puquinan was an entirely separate stock. Adelung-Vater, however, copying Hervás' quoted Paternoster, came to the opposite conclusion, inclining to believe that it was related to Aymará. This opinion was fully adopted by Sir Clements Markham, who declared Puquinan "a very rude dialect of the Lupaca" (a sub-tribe of the Aymara). He was followed in this by von Tschudi.¹

These authorities, to be sure, had only the Hervás Paternoster from Ore's *Rituale*. It is evident that neither Hervás, Adelung-Vater, Markham, nor von Tschudi had ever seen Ore's original work, since all of them believed that the Lord's Prayer was the only "Puquina" extant in print—whereas thirty pages are to be found in the *Rituale* with translations. However, whether or not Puquina be finally equated with Uru, one thing seems certain: neither one is basically related to the Aymará stock, regardless of extensive borrowings from both Aymará and Quechua. Comparison of the *Puquina numerals in Brinton indicate that they are quite independent of both Aymará and Quechua*. Brinton himself, with complete appropriateness remarks:

It remains puzzling to me why the Puquina, which seems to have been spoken only by a few wretched villagers about Lake Titicaca, should have been claimed by writers in the sixteenth century as one of the *linguae generales* of Peru. Not only does Ore refer to it by this term, but in one of the official *Relaciones Geográficas*

113 ¹ Daniel G. Brinton, *Note on the Puquina Language of Peru* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 28, 1890) pp. 242-245; Adelung, *Vater*, et al., *Wörterbuch*, Vol. 3 (Berlin, 1806-17), pp. 2, 546-550; Clements B. Markham, *On the Geographical Position of the Tribes which Formed the Empire of the Incas* (Journal of the Royal Geographical Society 41: 226-228, 1871), p. 225; J. J. von Tschudi, *Organismus der Entschieden Sprache* (Leipzig, 1866), c. 75.

[de Indios, Peru, 1: 82, Madrid, 1881] written in 1882, it is mentioned as "one of the three general languages of the Altiplano." This would indicate that at that period it had a wider extension than we can now trace. 114

Brinton identified the "Puquina" of Orr with the Uru of Lake Titicaca, and has been followed by many authorities since. Raul de la Granerie agreed in the identification, giving the synonymy "Puquina, known also by the name of Uru, Uruu, Huanu and Ochomano, etc." Ekmanovich also lists the "Uru or Puquina" linguistic stock, but notes a discrepancy with de la Granerie:

[In the midst of the Kutiya population there still dwell on Lake Titicaca remains of the much disintegrated Uru or Puquina, an independent group, whose language has recently been investigated by Uhle. The language treated under this name by Raul de la Granerie seems to belong to a different people. 115]

Uhle informed Chamberlain in 1896 that the Uru of Iruita [of the upper Desaguadero] were linguistically identical with those of the interior of Carangas, and concluded that once they probably occupied the region from Lake Titicaca almost to the Argentine frontier; at Iruita ten men, fourteen women, and nine children still spoke Uru, with little difference from the Carangas dialect. But he too noted that "the Puquina-Uru of Raul de la Granerie is totally different from my Uru." 116]

More recently Mitrux has done linguistic work with both the Chiquya of Lake Puno (Carangas) and the Uru of Anasagui (Rio Desaguadero). The virtual identity of the two dialects he has well demonstrated, the Uru being purer and less corrupt, perhaps, than the Chiquya, of the group he calls "Uru-Chiquya." Careful comparison of vocabularies in Mitrux with my own and Pele's make it clear that: 117]

1. The Uru of Lake Titicaca and Rio Desaguadero and the Chiquya of Carangas form one linguistic stock.

* Daniel G. Brinton, *The American Race* (New York 1891), pp. 225-226. Raul de la Granerie, *Langues Ameriques - Langues Puquines, Taiti Puquines Contenus dans le Kutchu ou Wamali Peruvien de Granerie de Orr* (Lima & Yaguay in 1887) now, texts engaged in regard, translation analytique interlinguistique, vocabulaire et notes de grammaire, Leipzig, 1890, p. 47. (De la Granerie used a copy in the Bibliothéque Nationale, Berlin, according to Chamberlain, and a British Museum copy of Orr.) Paul Ekmanovich, *Die Ethnographische Karte des Gebietes des J.E. Finkenhofers unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Staatlichkeit* (Archiv für Anthropologie N.F. 3: 29-31, 1913), p. 47. Uhle, personal letter, dated Lima, May 17, 1896, cited in Alexander F. Chamberlain, *The Uru: A New South American Linguistic Stock* (American Anthropologist 12: 427-439, 1912), p. 428, from which this extract is taken. See also St. Uhle, *Reisen in Bolivien und Peru* (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Verhandlung 21, 1890), pp. 227-230, also, *Führer der Sprache der Uru in Bolivien* (Zürich 89, 1890), p. 19. 118]

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2. The Uru-Chipewyan stock is unrelated to either Quechua or Aymara, so far as is determinable from the hitherto solely lexical evidence; the phonemic systems of Aymara and Uru, for what this evidence is worth, were quite wholly distinct.

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3. There is as as yet unexplained misunderstanding concerning Rueda de la Gramera's "Pupiza Uru." The basis for this last judgment is, in part, the somewhat spurious.

English	Quechua	Aymara	Pupiza	Uru
One	hac	maye	pac	ti
Two	hacay	paya	ac	hik
Three	quinsa	hinsa	capa	ish
Four	tahua	puri	qur	ha'bi'
Five	pinka	pusa	tapa	ta'waka
Six	awta	awta	chichu	ta'fuka
Seven	cachin	pacapla	ata	Daka
Eight	pacari	hinsapla	quina	wika
Nine	haca	hinsaka	chana	wa'Gu
Ten	chinsa	tanka	awta	kala

Pala's materials for the Uru, quoted in Chamberlain, even less resemble Ora's Pupiza (shi; pinka; chop; papiac; paitin; pacmora; pacfuk; tahua; cahuera; waka; kala) than do my soundings, and neither Pupiza nor Uru resembles Aymara or Quechua.

There remains, however, the vexing problem of the identity of the Uru and Pupiza of Britton, Ehrenreich, Ude, Harvan, and Adolph-Vater. Mifflin, following Elvert and De la Gramera, has brought impressive evidence of their identity. He writes: "The Uru gave me decisive proof. They call their language *hukina*, *pukina* to distinguish it from Aymara. This fact had already been brought to my attention at La Paz; it was later confirmed for me by all my informants." Chamberlain, however, thoroughly convinced by Pala's conclusions, argued the absolute distinctness of Pupiza and Uru, and has followed Eric Rueda in stating that they are separate stocks

* Quechua quoted unchanged from Britton, *American Race*, p. 221; Aymara from my own field notes; Pupiza from Gramera de Uru, *Ataria*, in Britton et al., and Uru from my own field notes. Since I am not wholly familiar with Uru, the rendering given here for phonetic accuracy than phonemic accuracy. The vocabulary, moreover, includes the considerable language differences of having passed from Uru through Aymara and Spanish (the two languages of my informants at Arequipa) to the present English. Other references in this paragraph are to Alfred Mifflin, *Los Indios Uru-Chipewyan de Gramera* (JHAP 21, 1925), pp. 111-123, 325-331; (JHAP 21, 1925), pp. 115-127, 127-334, also, *Contribución a la filología de la Imperio de Bolivia: Uru y Aymara* (Bolívia) (JHAP 21) pp. 75-125, also, *Contribución a la filología de Bolivia* (JHAP 21, 1925), pp. 67-125. Pala, op. cit. in Chamberlain (*American Anthropologist* 41: 417-49, 1937), pp. 417-418.

(but further complicating the matter by bringing in the dispute about the possible relationship of Atacaméan and Uru, which relationship he finally denies).²⁸ The problem, of course, awaits the attention of the linguistic specialist who shall have complete access to all the documents in the case. Garcilaso de la Vega, it is true, in his *Historia General de las Indias* listed "the Puquina, Colla, Uru, Yunca, and other Indian nations." But the Colla and Yunca were subdivisions of the Aymará-speaking stock, which weakens Chamberlain's citation of this as proof of the distinctness of the Uru and the Puquina. *Prima facie* evidence suggests that they are the same; meanwhile, where are we to find any considerable group in the Lake Titicaca region to have spoken the non-Aymará, non-Quechua "lengua general" of "Puquina" except the linguistically moribund and heavily Aymarized Uru-Chipaya?²⁹

Name. The present-day Uru of the Rio Desaguadero have been given various names by chroniclers and ethnologists. De la Grasserie gives the synonymy *Uru, Uru, Huanu, and Ochomano*, as well as the controversial "Puquina"; Calancha, however, gives the name as *Ochomano*, and Brinton *Ochomano*. Pomansky says the name of the Uru for themselves is *Uchawi*, and their language *Uchawitika*; they also call themselves *Kjistrani*, but never "Uru" or "Puquina." Métraux, however, found the Ancoaqai Uru

²⁸ Métraux (JRAP 27, 1936), p. 89. Eric Ruman, *Les Antiquités de la Région Andine de la République Argentine* (Paris 1907-1908), pp. 67-71. Ruman (p. 72) identifies the Desaguadero Uru with the *Chango*, also called "Uru," of the Pacific coast farther south, making them the pre-Quechua, pre-Aymará, pre-Yunca aborigines of the Peru-Bolivia region. Chamberlain thinks they must have been Inca "colonists," as too Brinton (*American Races*, 221) who notes that Oliva (quoted in A. Bastien, *Culturinder der Alten Amerikas* (1878 Berlin, vol. 2), p. 85) found some of them near Lima. Since "Chango" was pre-Quechua, as well as found on the coast near Lambayeque. Since "Chango" was one of the Aymará nicknames for the Desaguadero Uru, this coastal group of "Chango" may indeed be Uru. Winder, *The American Indian*, 2nd ed. pp. 312-313, lists and maps a northern "Puquina" stock and a southern "Uru" stock; but on the linguistic map of South America (Fig. 62) he places "Puquina" north of Lake Titicaca, and "Uru" in northern Chile, apparently following Ruman on this point.

²⁹ The possible Arawakan affiliation of the Uru-Chipaya is another matter. Rivet and Coudré-Marcfort have discussed this problem at length. Métraux (JRAP 27), pp. 402-403, suggests connections of the Chipaya with the Chiriguano and the Arawakanized Chiriguano, on the basis of onomastic character in myths, but he further suggests the possibility that both the Chiriguano and the Chipaya get their mythical figures from the Aymará-Quechua general Indian folklore, as well as from the Uru-Chipaya. This second direction of diffusion appears to me more plausible: the myths Métraux (JRAP 28, 1936), pp. 67-102, collected from the Uru-Chipaya are nearly all tales identical with those of the neighboring Aymara. It is my opinion, however, that neither Nordenskiöld's nor Métraux' myth material is sufficiently specific in reference to bear any such burden of proof, some of them show Arawak, Sumero, Shoswap, and Quechua parallels, i.e., the data are pre-Arawak, indeed, pre- and pre-Arawak.

ture of the bundle. The whole is thrust vertically into the earth. The end of the bundle emerges a few centimeters above the surface of the water. They repeat the operation until a sufficiently compact weir is raised to hold the fish. The barrier has the form of an angle which opens in the direction of the current. The two wings are straight or curved slightly inward. They end in an opening about a meter wide whose edges, more resistant than the rest of the weir, are made of two bundles 20cm. in diameter. Unlike the others, these bundles have transverse ligatures a few centimeters above the surface. Facing this passage there is generally an islet of *totora* which protects the weir from the wind and to which the fisherman can attach his *balsa*. Here he places the net. He watches the fish that are engaged between the two barriers and thus conducted toward the net which closes the weir.

The Uru also make their *totora* sails to their boats into tent-like shelters over themselves when fishing. To drive the fish into their weirs, they attach bunches of reeds to a pole and agitate the water up and down.

Cord nets attached to a frame are also used in Uru fishing. The frame of this type of net (called *kakpara*) is a tripod lashed at the divergent ends of the feet to a stick bent into a ring: these conical nets are quite large and about all one man can handle. Métraux further mentions a smaller rectangular-framed scoop net with a pole handle: "The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or sitting until he sees interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net carefully, then pulls it out of the water with a rapid motion." The Uru also have large bottom-nets or drag-nets, which neither Métraux nor the author were able to see in use as they serve for fishing only in very deep water. These are trailed behind several *balsas*, their bottoms weighted with perforated stones, and require a number of persons to handle them.

In fishing for a species of *Trichomycterus* (*T. pictus*, Aymará *suti*), the Uru of the Desaguadero also use a spear, called *piri*, which has eight²² or so diverging spikes at its end on which the fish is impaled in shallow water.²¹ Although fish are reasonably plentiful in Lake Titicaca and the Rio Desaguadero, Agassiz early noted the poverty in variety of the fauna: the genus *Orestias* of the family *Ciprinodontidae*, and the genus *Trichomycterus* of the family *Siluridae* comprise all the known species. The *Orestias* (= Aymará *sačafa*, *ispi* = ? Uru *uđerčula*) are minuscule fish, viviparous, and of marked sexual dimorphism, which may account for the number and variety of

²¹ Posnansky (pp. 77-78) believes that this term indicates affinities with Amazonian Arawaks, among whom the root *pir-* means "fish," as in the fish names: *pira-waka*, *pira-mulaba*, *pira-arara*, *pira-pitinga* ("painted fish"), *pira-urucu* ("red fish" of great size, which is dried like *chagui*), *pira-kina*, *pira-cema* ("schools of fish"), *pirana* (the terrible sharp-toothed fish of tropical rivers which attacks even humans), *pira-wasú* ("big fish"), *piracatinga* ("stinking fish"), *matapiri*, etc.